

## Message Text

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INRE-00 /110 W

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O R 201600Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6736  
INFO EC COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION USUN  
USMISSION USNATO  
USLO PEKING  
USINT HAVANA  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 4054

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

USSALTTWO

E.O.: 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM, PEPR, SHUM, ET, SO, UR, US, DA, XJ, CH, CU  
SUBJ: DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION

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REFS: (A) MOSCOW 13970, (B) COPENHAGEN 3899, (C) 77 COPENHAGEN  
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SUMMARY - THE DANES ARE PLEASED WITH THE TONE OF DANISH FOREIGN  
MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN'S VISIT TO MOSCOW. (HIS VISIT WAS IN HIS  
NATIONAL, NOT EC PRESIDENCY, CAPACITY.) ALTHOUGH KOSYGIN AND  
GROMYKO DID NOT UNBEND FROM KNOWN, EXPECTED POSITIONS, THEY WERE

"CIVILIZED AND CORDIAL". ON POLITICAL SPECIFICS, THE SOVIET LEADERS DESCRIBED THE PRESENT CLIMATE FOR DETENTE AS "GOOD" BUT WERE CONCERNED OVER "CERTAIN SIGNS": SOME ASPECTS OF US POLICY (ALTHOUGH GROMYKO ADDED HE COULD TALK "MEANINGFULLY" WITH THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY); CHINA'S THREATENING POSTURE; AND THE "GANGING UP" IMPLICATIONS OF CLOSER WESTERN TIES WITH CHINA.

THE SOVIET LEADERS MADE A SUSTAINED PITCH FOR WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSALS MADE AT THE UNSSOD. CONTRARY TO PRESS STATEMENTS, THE MFA SAYS THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE "NEUTRON BOMB" ALTHOUGH THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE DID CONTAIN LANGUAGE AGAINST "NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION".

ANDERSEN WENT DOWN HIS LIST OF TOPICS INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS, THE WESTERN IDEA OF DETENTE AND SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIC. THERE WAS NO RESPONSE FROM THE SOVIET SIDE.

ON AFRICA, KOSYGIN SAID THE ONLY FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES NOW IN ZAIRE WERE BROUGHT BY THE WEST. GROMYKO SAID THE SOVIETS "TOOK AWAY" THEIR ARMS FROM SOMALIA BECAUSE IT ATTACKED ETHIOPIA AND THAT THE SOVIETS WANTED A "PEACEFUL" SOLUTION IN ERITREA. END SUMMARY.

1. MFA DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR, PETER DYVIG, BRIEFED AMBASSADOR AND POLCOUNS TODAY ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DANISH  
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FOREIGN MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN'S JUNE 14-18 VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. (DYVIG HAD ACCOMPANIED ANDERSEN TO SOVIET UNION) DYVIG BEGAN BY CHARACTERIZING THE ATMOSPHERE AS "VERY GOOD". THE DANES WERE IMPRESSED THAT THEIR SOVIET INTERLOCUTORS APPEARED RELAXED. NEITHER GROMYKO NOR KOSYGIN CAME ON STRONG.

2. DYVIG NOTED THAT ANDERSEN HAD TWO HOURS OF FORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH GROMYKO AND ONE AND A QUARTER HOURS WITH KOSYGIN. THE DANES FOUND NOTHING NEW IN WHAT THE SOVIETS SAID NOR DID THE LATTER RESPOND TO A NUMBER OF POINTS MADE BY THE DANES. BUT THE SOVIET SIDE DID NOT ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE THE VISITORS. DYVIG COMMENTED THAT THE "CIVILIZED CORDIALITY" DISPLAYED BY KOSYGIN MIGHT BE AN ATTEMPT TO ATTENUATE THE IMPRESSION LEFT BY HIM WITH THE NORDICS AT THE TIME OF THE CONFRONTATION IN HELSINKI LAST DECEMBER (REF C). (IN A LARGELY CRITICAL EDITORIAL, THE COPENHAGEN JUNE 20 QUALITY DAILY POLITIKEN (LEFT OF CENTER/INDEPENDENT) CONCLUDED THAT NOTHING CONCRETE CAME OUT OF THE TRIP AND THAT DANISH "SATISFACTION" WITH THE VISIT WAS BASED ON RELIEF "NOT TO HAVE BEEN SCOLDED BY KOSYGIN.")

3. DYVIG SAID THAT BOTH KOSYGIN AND GROMYKO CHARACTERIZED THE PRESENT CLIMATE FOR DETENTE AS "GOOD" BUT THE SOVIET LEADERS

WERE WORRIED ABOUT "CERTAIN SIGNS". THESE SIGNS INCLUDED SOME ASPECTS OF US POLICY; CHINA'S THREATENING POSTURE; AND CLOSER WESTERN RELATIONS IN GENERAL WITH CHINA.

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4. CONCERNING US POLICY, DYVIG SAID THAT SOVIET LEADERS TALKED RATHER ELLIPTICALLY. BOTH KOSYGIN AND GROMYKO MADE THE POINT THAT WAS LATER REPEATED AT THE LATTER'S DINNER ADDRESS. WHILE "WE" WERE WORKING FOR DISARMAMENT IN NEW YORK, THE NATO POWERS,  
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AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE US PRESIDENT, WERE MEETING IN WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS INCREASED ARMAMENT. GROMYKO ADDED THAT IN SPITE OF THIS, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THAT "PROGRESSIVE FORCES" WHO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR DETENTE EXIST IN THE US.

5. BOTH IN RESPONSE TO THESE ASSERTIONS MADE BY THE SOVIET LEADERS IN THEIR PRIVATE TALKS AND IN ANSWERING GROMYKO'S DINNER REMARKS, ANDERSEN SPOKE AS FOLLOWS. HE SAID THAT AN INDICATION OF THE IMPORTANCE THAT NATO ATTACHES TO DISARMAMENT WAS THE ONE-DAY ABSENCE FROM THE NATO MEETING IN WASHINGTON OF "ITS MOST IMPORTANT PARTNER" (SECRETARY VANCE) BECAUSE HE WENT TO NEW YORK TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT. DYVIG NOTED THAT THIS REMARK, LIKE MANY OTHERS MADE BY ANDERSEN, WAS NOT PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET PRESS.

6. STILL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE "WORRISOME SIGNS" FROM THE US, GROMYKO ADDED POSITIVELY THAT HE ENJOYED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY AND CAN TALK MEANINGFULLY WITH THEM.

7. KOSYGIN LAID OUT THE USUAL SOVIET LINE ON CHINA AND DEPLORED THE ASSERTION BY THAT COUNTRY'S LEADERS THAT WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS INEVITABLE. KOSYGIN ALSO NOTED THE INCREASED INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE WEST AND CHINA WHICH INCLUDES MAKING AVAILABLE CREDITS, TECHNOLOGY AND ASSISTANCE IN ARMS. KOSYGIN ALSO RECALLED THE RECENT "IMPORTANT US VISITOR" TO CHINA AND HEIGHTENED TALK IN THE US OF EARLY NORMALIZATION IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. KOSYGIN ASKED RHETORICALLY, "WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN? IS EVERYONE 'GANGING UP' AGAINST US?"

8. BOTH GROMYKO AND KOSYGIN SPOKE AT LENGTH OF THE PEACEFUL INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND HOW THE DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS MADE BY THEM AT THE UNSSOD SHOULD BE ACCEPTED BY THE

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WEST. GROMYKO SPECIFICALLY CITED THE SOVIET STATEMENT THAT IT WAS PREPARED NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR STATES. ANDERSEN SAID THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL WAS IMPRESSIVE AND CONTINUED THAT HE KNEW THAT THE SOVIETS ALSO PROPOSED BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ALONG THESE LINES BUT THAT DENMARK, AS A MEMBER OF NATO, COULD NOT CONSIDER AN AGREEMENT OUTSIDE ITS FRAMEWORK. DYVIG REMARKED THAT GROMYKO DID NOT RETURN TO THIS POINT.

9. NEITHER, DYVIG SAID, DID GROMYKO OR KOSYGIN BRING UP THE KEKKONEN PLAN NOR WAS THERE ANY TALK ABOUT THE "NEUTRON BOMB". DYVIG NOTED THAT THE DANISH PRESS MISINTERPRETED A PASSAGE IN

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. (IN ITS JUNE 19 EDITION, POLITIKEN WROTE THAT "BOTH SIDES OPPOSED THE NEUTRON BOMB AND OTHER NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS AND BACK ATTEMPTS TO FIND WAYS AND MEANS TO PROHIBIT SUCH ARMS".)

10. DYVIG SAID THAT THIS WAS AN UNCONSCIONABLE EXTRAPOLATION FROM THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE WHICH DID STATE THAT BOTH PARTIES WERE AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND WOULD EXPLORE MEANS TO PREVENT THEIR USE. DYVIG SAID THAT THE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD TODAY ISSUE A STATEMENT NOTING THE NEUTRON WEAPON WAS NOT DISCUSSED; THAT IT IS HARDLY A WEAPON OF "MASS DESTRUCTION" AND THAT IT WAS NOT NEW.

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11. IN HIS PRESENTATION TO GROMYKO, ANDERSEN TALKED ABOUT DETENTE FROM THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT AND OF THE NEED FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE. HE SPOKE OF DANISH DISCOMFORT OVER SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIC AND PARTICULARLY OVER THE RECENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ESTABLISHED PRESENCE IN THAT SEA OF SOVIET NUCLEAR ARMED VESSELS (SUBMARINES). HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF AN INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY AND THAT HOW, WITHOUT RECOGNITION OF SUCH RIGHTS, THERE WOULD BE NO CREDIBILITY IN THE WEST FOR THE DETENTE PROCESS. HE ASSERTED THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS TO MONITOR THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT MENTION SHARANSKY OR ORLOV OR OTHER SOVIET DISSIDENTS BY NAME, HE REFERRED TO THE DECLARATION BY THE NINE ISSUED AFTER THE MAY 20 FOREIGN MINISTERS' INFORMAL MEETING ON ORLOV'S SENTENCING (REFTEL D). NONE OF THESE REMARKS BY ANDERSEN PROVOKED ANY COMMENT FROM THE SOVIET SIDE, DYVIG SAID.

12. DYVIG NOTED THAT THERE WERE EXCHANGES ON AFRICA. KOSYGIN SAID THAT OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS THE US HAS MOUNTED A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CONTEXT OF EVENTS IN AFRICA. KOSYGIN ASKED, "ARE THERE ANY SOVIET SOLDIERS IN ZAIRE? NO. WHO HAS FOREIGN SOLDIERS IN ZAIRE? ONLY THOSE PUT THERE BY THE WEST". DYVIG REMARKED THAT THE DANES HAD HEARD REPORTS OF PROBLEMS BETWEEN ANGOLA'S NETO AND THE SOVIETS BUT THAT GROMYKO SEEMED TO GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO SAY NICE THINGS ABOUT THE ANGOLAN LEADER.

13. ON THE HORN, GROMYKO GAVE HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE SOVIET ROLE THERE. FOR YEARS, GROMYKO SAID, "THE SOVIETS GAVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. AND WHAT DID THE SOMALIS DO? THEY ATTACKED ETHIOPIA. WHEN THIS HAPPENED, WE TOOK OUR ARMS AWAY". IT WAS THEN LOGICAL THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULD PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA TO DEFEND ITSELF.

14. DYVIG SAID THAT THE DANES NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE OBVIOUSLY AWARE OF ANDERSEN'S EARLIER DEFENSE OF CUBAN FORCES IN ANGOLA. HE IS NOW, HOWEVER, WORRIED OVER THE PERVASIVE ROLE OF CUBAN MILITARY IN AFRICA. ANDERSEN BELIEVED THAT THE AFRICAN SECTION OF THE NATO WASHINGTON COMMUNIQUE WAS BALANCED. ANDERSEN CONFIDENTIAL

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DOES NOT WANT AFRICA TO BE REGARDED AS AN ARENA FOR EAST/WEST CONFRONTATION BUT NEITHER CAN EVENTS THERE BE CONSIDERED IN

ISLOATION FROM OUTSIDE ACTION AND INTENT.

15. ON ERITREA, ANDERSEN SAID THAT HE WAS ALSO WORRIED OVER THE ROLE OF NON-AFRICAN FORCES THERE. GROMYKO'S ONLY RESPONSE WAS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE LOOKING FOR A "PEACEFUL SOLUTION" TO THAT PROBLEM. DYVIG SAID THAT THE QUESTION OF ERITREA PREVENTED A MENTION OF AFRICA IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

16. THE SOVIET SIDE FIRST PRESENTED A RELATIVELY ANODYNE DRAFT ON AFRICA WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO THE DANES EXCEPT THAT IT FAILED TO MENTION THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AFRICAN STATES. THE DANES WERE INFORMALLY TOLD BY THE SOVIET SIDE THAT "SELF-DETERMINATION" COULD NOT BE MENTIONED SINCE IT COULD BE APPLIED TO ERITREA AND WOULD CONSEQUENTLY CAUSE THEM PROBLEMS WITH THE ETHIOPIANS. IN THE END, NOTHING ABOUT AFRICA WAS CARRIED AND THE COMMUNIQUE DEALT ONLY WITH DETENTE AND DIS-ARMAMENT AND ADDED THAT "OTHER INTERNATIONAL SUBJECTS WERE DISCUSSED". DEAN

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## Message Attributes

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